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EAST GERMANY

IMPROVEMENT REPORTED IN PENSIONERS' CIRCUMSTANCES

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 30 Nov 76 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Guenther Thude, director of the Social Insurance Administration of the FDGB Executive Committee]

[Text] [Question] According to the joint resolution of the SED Central Committee, the Executive Committee of the FDGB and the GDR Council of Ministers dated 27 May 1976, from 1 December on 3.4 million pensioners will receive an increased pension. Are all the prerequisites for smooth and correct payment present?

[Answer] I can answer this question with a clear "yes." Electronic data processing was employed to calculate the new pensions. The calculation was checked in 10 kreises in order to guarantee that the conversion is carried out precisely according to the statutory provisions. There were the necessary checking and adjusting tasks. Finally the pay lists for over 22,000 pension payment offices were written and in this way the correct payment was prepared. In this connection state organs such as savings institutions and banks and the post office helped out. Thus, every pensioner will receive his increased pension on time.

[Question] By how much will the pension for the individual pension go up?

[Answer] Naturally that varies. The average increase in old-age pensions comes to M 40.30 per month. For 4.7 percent of the old-age pensioners the monthly increase ranges up to M 20, for 23 percent it is between M 20.10 and M 30, for 55.4 percent between M 30.10 and M 50, and for 16.9 percent the monthly increase is more than M 50. Thus, from 1 December 1976 over 72 percent of the recipients of old-age pensions will receive a monthly pension increased by more than M 30. In practically the same way, disability pensions have also been increased. In this instance the amount of the average increase is M 37.80 per month. The average increase in widows' pensions is M 33.20 per month. For 6.1 percent of the widows' pensions the monthly increase ranges up to M 20, for 63.9 percent from M 20.10 to M 30, for 21.4 percent from M 30.10 to M 50, and for 8.6 percent it is over M 50.

[Question] What is the reason for these varying rates of increase?

[Answer] That is established exactly in the legal provisions issued for this purpose. The increase in pensions is determined essentially by the number of years of work prior to 1946 and by the guaranteed additional creditable periods. Thus, from 1 December on, all pensioners will also receive an increased amount of 1.0 percent for every year in place of the current 0.7 percent for the work years prior to 1946 and for the additionally creditable periods. In the case of the old-age and disability pensions for miners the increase was from 1.4 percent to 2 percent. Further, it is established in the legal provisions that the amount of increase must be at least M 1.50 for each of the years. At the same time the supplement for a spouse--it is guaranteed in cases when one marriage partner has no right to his/her own pension--has been raised from M 75 to M 100.

[Question] Thus the material situation for older citizens will continue to improve noticeably?

[Answer] That is a constant concern of our socialist society. This is the 10th increase in pensions since the GDR came into existence; in connection with this the material situation of our retirees improved most noticeably with the pension increases after the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses. In 1970 the average old-age pension for men amounted to M 250 and for women M 168. Effective 1 December 1976 the average old-age pension for men will be M 358, thus M 108 more, and for women it will be M 268, thus M 100 more per month. If a retired couple receiving this average old-age pension had a monthly income in 1970 of M 418, the amount is now M 626. Since 1 December, this is M 208 more per month than in 1970. If one of the partners had no right to a pension, the couple in 1970 had over M 290 per month, now it can have more than M 458, which amounts to M 168 more than in 1970. The average widows' pension increased in the same period from M 159 to M 245, thus by M 86 per month. In this connection one must not overlook the fact that this increase has a direct effect on the living standard of our retired people. Stable consumer prices for foodstuffs and consumer goods, low and stable rents and costs of services, electricity and gas also turn out to be advantageous to our pensioners.

[Question] Don't these extensive increases in pensions require a lot of capital?

[Answer] Just for this increase in pensions through which we are continuing the pension reform and expanding social welfare, we require more than M 6 billions in the current five-year plan, that is up to 1980. Therefore, it is so important that our workers, in implementing the results of the Ninth SED Party Congress, have responded to the joint resolution with new initiatives in socialist competition. Today every worker knows that we can consume only that which we ourselves make.

12124

CSO: 2300

POLAND

POLISH ATHLETES RECALLED FOR SMUGGLING

Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 76 LD

[Text] Polish sportsmen, representing their country, who were caught smuggling alcoholic spirits were recalled. This was announced by a spokesman of the Polish Embassy in Helsinki today. Last Friday and Monday Finnish customs confiscated 450 bottles of vodka and spirits from the Poles. The bottles arrived in the country with an 18-member athletics team and two ice-hockey teams totaling 52 members. The Polish sportsmen were ordered to return home immediately. The fines imposed on them for smuggling will be paid by the Polish consulate.

CSO: 3107

ROMANIAN EXPERIENCE OF COMPROMISE, RECONCILIATION RECALLED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 76 pp 1279-1294

[Article by Gh. I. Ionita and N. Nicolaescu: "On Compromise, Conciliation, and Reconciliation in the History of the Romanian People"]

[Text] Along with the other new contributions made to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the 11th Congress of our party has issued many opinions -- especially within the historic Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism -- on the need to strengthen in today's and tomorrow's world the unity of the forces which militate for the progressive development of society, and on the need to consolidate the collaboration of the communist parties with other political organizations.

In this context, the reconciliation between communists, socialists, and social democrats was placed in the forefront of the discussion. "A close collaboration between communists, socialists, and social democrats in all workers' organizations is an objective requirement for increasing the role of the working class and of progressive forces in each country, and for successfully conducting the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the society,"¹ states the RCP Program. "In order to achieve this goal," it continues, "it is necessary to begin with that which unites, from the positive experience gained until now, and to act from both sides to surpass all difficulties in order to reach a true historic reconciliation between communist and socialist parties, and to strengthen their collaboration."²

Speaking before the Congress of County People's Councils and of Chairmen of City, Town, and Village People's Councils, Nicolae Ceausescu expanded this remarkable idea and stressed that: "Events and life demonstrate that only an active collaboration between communists, socialists, social democrats, and other democratic forces can assure a solution to the complex problems of socioeconomic development in our era, and to the establishment of peace in the world. Unfortunately, it would seem that the lessons and teachings of history are too soon forgotten by some, such as the fact that the lack of

collaboration between communists and socialists was one of the factors which led to the establishment of fascism in Germany and other countries, followed by the unleashing of World War II, for which humanity has paid so dearly."³

These solid opinions contain truths which have been tested by the force of conviction of realities specific to the development of our inter-war workers' movement, and why not say it, specific to many other countries in which the lack of unity among democratic, anti-fascist sociopolitical forces has had its say at a given moment, in aggravating the situation and in paving the way for the rise of political reaction and fascism. In fact, the question also has aspects which correspond to situations to which we ourselves are contemporary.⁴ We need only think, for instance, about a number of countries where, despite insistent efforts, such problems have not yet fully solved.

The major importance which our party and its secretary general assign to historical reconciliation arise therefore from the new conditions surrounding today's workers' and progressive political forces, the era of crisis which is apparent in the capitalist world, and the need to establish a new economic and political order capable of overcoming the crisis and of establishing a climate favorable for the development of mankind for a better and more just life.

Our party conceives the need for historical reconciliation both by analyzing parts of its own activity conducted as early as 1893 by PSDMR [Romanian Social Democrat Workers' Party] and since 1921 by RCP, as well as by analyzing notable pages in the multimillenary history of the Romanian people; no less important is a knowledge of the older and more recent history of relations between communist parties and socialist, social democratic, and progressive parties in other countries. The validity of the RCP's conclusions in this respect is well illustrated by the 11th Congress, which had as participating guests 139 delegates and representatives from communist and workers' parties, socialist and social democrat parties, government parties, and democratic parties from developing nations, friendly nations, liberation movements, and other anti-imperialistic organizations. This provided us with yet another proof of recognition of the principal positions of the RCP, positions which are Marxist-Leninist in their essentials.

It is well known that a number of communist parties in capitalist countries, among which the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party, have been strongly confronted in recent years with similar problems which have provided the most discussed topics in the last congresses of these parties. Thus, Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the PCI [Italian Communist Party], in the report presented to the 14th Congress of the PCI held on 18-23 March 1975, considered the question of "historical compromise" as the central topic of the political struggle, and one of the problems which elicits the interest of the greatest number of citizens. Enrico Berlinguer specified that this is not one of the many passing fashions in politics, and that the interest shown in this problem consists in the fact that "the idea of 'historical compromise' has expressed on one hand the growing desire for a general change in the political, social, and moral order, and on the other

hand has been presented (and correctly interpreted) as the only new proposal compared to all the political formulas which have been experimented for more than 25 years."⁵ In the concept of Italian communists, "historical compromise" is not merely the proposal of a new political alliance and of a government formula which would also include the communist party, but is a new strategy springing from the historical experience of society and of democratic parties, which addresses itself to all those who are moved by democratic sentiments, to the entire country. In other words, it is a strategy, not only of communists, but of the entire country, intended to bring society out of its present crisis, to renew, save, and develop democracy. "Historical compromise" is therefore a general strategy whose axis is the political unity of the working class.

Not long ago, these problems arose strongly in Italy when the electorate was called for the parliamentary elections of May of this year. "We are today at a point at which there is no one who does not feel that things cannot be left as they are, and that the entire situation is susceptible of worsening unless effective changes are made in time," stated the secretary general of the PCI, Enrico Berlinguer, at the large meeting which inaugurated the electoral campaign. Beginning with the fact that Italians are asking themselves what will become of Italy if it continues to be led "with old methods and old men," the communists propose "a government different from the ones which have succeeded each other during the last nearly 30 years; a unified government of alliance and solidarity between all democratic and popular forces, which in order to be truly unified and innovative, cannot fail to also include the PCI." The reason which has led the communists to propose their participation in a unified government, is their concern with the fact that the vital interests of the country and of all workers are being constantly wronged. At the same time, the secretary general of the PCI has pointed out that "this proposal does not contradict the strategic option of historical compromise, but on the contrary is part of the unified logic which has led and will always continue to lead the policy of the PCI. But while the strategy of 'historical compromise' is essentially one of an encounter between the large popular forces -- communist, socialist, and catholic -- for a project of joint transformation and expansiveness, the current proposal for a government of extensive collaboration and popular solidarity is the answer to an imperative requirement of the moment, and no more."⁶

In the light of these major concerns, manifested as it is known both by our party and by a number of other communist and workers' brotherly parties, for the definition, and especially achievement, of historical reconciliation, the historians in our country are increasingly interested in the study of this phenomenon, in clarifying its characteristic features, and in approaching it from the realities of our nation's history and of the history of our workers' movement.

In the pages which follow we will attempt to contribute to the explanation of some of the points associated with the topic under discussion, and to exemplify these truths with various fundamental moments in the historic past of the Romanian people and in the revolutionary and democratic workers' movement in our nation.

Independently of the terms which are used to name this phenomenon in other countries, independently for instance of the fact that France uses "historical reconciliation," and that Italy has adopted "historical compromise," we base our explanation of this concept on the facts of our history and we explain it through its own terminology.

The first point which must absolutely be made explicit when we refer to these concepts, is a clear definition of what is understood by compromise, conciliation, and reconciliation in history.

Compromise usually refers to the major limiting moments in the history of a nation, when all or nearly all its social forces unite, thus achieving the compromise, to fight with joint strength against an internal or external danger which threatens the existence of the people. At such times, as a rule, domestic disagreements, even antagonistic ones, are set aside in order to face with all a nation's being the danger which threatens the people from the outside, or to eliminate an internal state of affairs which cannot continue.

Historical compromise is achieved among the social classes of a nation, at times even among classes with different economic and social interests, united by the existence of a common danger, which once eliminated replaces each one of these classes in the positions in which they were before the danger arose. Therefore, this is not and cannot be an elimination of class distinctions, but rather a temporary situation of these classes outside of the momentary political interests of the forces which agree to reach the compromise.

Conciliation is usually achieved between two or more groups or political forces within one and the same social class, as for instance between the political parties of the working class, or of classes with similar interests, in order to conduct a joint action against oppressing classes or against an existing order which has become anachronistic. Conciliation is sometimes the basis for a historical compromise, as for instance in the conciliation obtained by the formation of the unified workers' front, which was the basis for the nation's large coalition of forces leading to the elimination of the Fascist-Antonescu dictatorship. Conciliation is reached step by step through many conferences, and implies a renunciation of the attacks, insults, calumnies, and the entire arsenal of invectives addressed to the forces which compose the terms of the conciliation, their suspension and elimination being in the major interest of achieving a unity of struggle and action.

Reconciliation is achieved sometime after the occurrence of compromise or conciliation (thus including both the first and the second term), and consists of uniting at a higher level the forces which have become convinced in practice by the usefulness and need of continued collaboration. For instance, the creation of the single party of the working class in our country at the February 1948 Congress -- the result of a welcome reconciliation -- created the premise for the unification of the entire nation around the party.

Historical conciliation and reconciliation have nothing in common with opportunism insofar as they do not promote a relinquishment of the means of revolutionary struggle, nor require an abandonment of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society and for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Historical reconciliation does not obliterate the contradictions and blemishes of the capitalist order, nor does it act to demobilize the revolutionary proletariat. Historical conciliation is alien to the policy of "befriending" the bourgeoisie, and of subordinating the interests of the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Opportunism implies an unprincipled renunciation of a struggle, whereas historical reconciliation implies the coalition of all forces in the struggle, while maintaining intact the general political beliefs of each party.

Historical reconciliation has obviously nothing in common with reformism -- an anti-Marxist political current -- which rejects the class struggle, the socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, reducing the struggle of the working class to a struggle for reforms. Historical reconciliation does not seek a befriending among classes and the achievement of limited social reforms which do not affect the foundation of the capitalist order, or that of private ownership of the means of production. The contemporary reformism which pursues the idea of a possible gradual "transformation" of capitalism and its integration into socialism, can have nothing in common with historical reconciliation.

Similarly, historical reconciliation is opposed to dogmatism, and to the tendencies and actions for revising the fundamental tenets of Marxism. Reconciliation does not imply a frozen attitude, unreceptive to the changes which are occurring in society, and it cannot remain trapped by action formulas which are outdated and anachronistic. Dogmatism is a corollary of the subjectivistic divorce of theory from practice, and as such is incompatible with the essence of Marxism, which is first and foremost critical, open to what is new and to what is coming. Dogmatism cannot assimilate in theory the results and experience of social struggles, and of sociohistorical policies. By failing to consider the concrete nature of the truth, and by judging truth in a metaphysical manner as fixed once and for all, dogmatism is removed from the concept of historical compromise in politics and the revolutionary struggle. Nor can reconciliation lead to sectarianism and to a rupture or weakening of the party's ties to the masses. On the contrary, it makes it possible to formulate a realistic strategy and tactic, in accordance with historical progress and with the goals proposed by the contemporary working class.

Reconciliation is also alien to the actions to revise the fundamental tenets of Marxism, actions which are typical of revisionism. The creative application of the general principles of Marxism as it is conceived in the framework of historical reconciliation, the development by the communist party of the concept of historical reconciliation and thereby of the revolutionary theory which generalizes the new phenomena which arise in the sociohistorical process, oppose themselves to any tendency to revise the fundamentals of Marxism, and in fact militate for the defense of ideological, revolutionary purity, of the Marxist theory.

The Romanian Communist Party has fought with determination against opportunism, militating unremittingly for a creative Marxist policy applied to our country's real historical conditions, and has given and continues to prove that it masters all the forms and means of revolutionary struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

And finally, historical reconciliation as it is conceived and applied by our party does not and cannot have anything to do with leftism -- a sectarian conception and tactic, which does not consider the revolutionary stage of the workers' movement at any given moment, nor the real level at that moment, of the political awareness of the masses. In final analysis, leftism, just as dogmatism and anarchism, leads to a rupture with the masses, to political adventurism. For the sake of "intransigence" in maintaining debatable principles, it prevents any kind of union of democratic and revolutionary forces, whereas historical reconciliation implies a blending, a union around unanimously accepted principles in order to achieve a common goal, and a suspension of controversial problems in order to allow them to be solved with the passage of time.

A major feature which needs to be clarified when referring to the concept of historical reconciliation, is an analysis of the objective and subjective factors which determine it. We observe that most often, these factors cause and determine the achievement of a historical reconciliation, while the historic personalities which apply the reconciliation or the forces which they assume on themselves, merely act in the spirit of the demands of the respective historical moment.

A careful analysis of the social processes which occur around the achievement of a historical reconciliation entitle us to state that the need for the latter is felt during periods of acute social and political crisis, in eras which are at the limit of the destinies of the whole and not only of the parts.

History proves through numberless examples that historical compromise, conciliation, and reconciliation do not imply an annulment of class distinctions, or an abandonment of the viewpoints of one or another of the social groups or political organizations which participate in it, nor the renouncement of the initiation, at a given time, of a separate action, if it helps in reaching the common goal which is being sought.

Our nation's history, the history of the revolutionary and democratic workers' movement offers numberless examples of instances which have made it necessary and possible to reach a historical compromise, conciliation, or reconciliation.

In the pages which follow we will delve on only some of the instances which testify without doubt about the huge role played by the phenomena mentioned above at the crucial moments in our nation's history.

Thus, if we refer to the need for historical compromise as determined by the internal development conditions of the Geto-Dacian society and by the external danger which existed at the time, we can see for instance that the union of tribes which formed around Burebista 2050 years ago, giving birth to that powerful state composition, was made possible by a historical compromise or by the fact that the domestic circumstances and the Roman danger which provided the motive for this first compromise, enabled the Dacians to gather around the great personality of Decebal, who succeeded in eliminating all centrifugal tendencies and coalesce the Dacian forces in the life and death struggle against the most advanced empire of the times, who also benefited from the leadership of one of its military geniuses, Trajan.

Of course, if the question is stated in this way, and if we justifiably look at the external dangers, we do not overlook the fact that the union of the Geto-Dacians under Burebista 2050 years ago, and later under Decebal, did determine the development of the forces of production throughout our ancestral Dacia as well as the general configuration of the Dacian society, which for internal reasons demanded its own consolidation, and to be sure also to be able to better defend itself against foreign dangers.

At the time of the migration of the people, historical compromise took on a more complex aspect; the Romanian people, moulded during the first centuries of our era, knew how to attract even the invading forces, with which it succeeded to work and live, and ultimately annihilate their destructive force. We cannot otherwise explain the fact that the Slavic migrating people were able to impose their personality and subsequently create around us states which are essentially Slavic, while being assimilated by the Romanian people in the Carpatho-Danubian area, except by admitting that the wisdom of this young but vigorous nation indicated the most suitable ways to enfold and assimilate these migrating masses, which socially and politically were at the level of development of principalities, dukedoms, and "countries" in that area, in other words indicated the ways to achieve a great historical compromise with repercussions throughout the centuries, thereby succeeding in maintaining unchanged its existence as a nation.

Another instance when a historical compromise became a necessity, was the glorious era of Mihai Viteazul. Mihai is known to have become a ruler at a time in which the material efforts imposed by the Ottoman Empire and its representatives began to endanger the entire economy of the Romanian countries, while the increasingly repeated and serious violations of the autonomy of these countries made it possible to detect the desire on the part of the Porte to establish a new and more direct form of domination of the Romanian countries. It became evident to many that the only alternative was an open fight. It is also known that for a long period of time, and with rare exceptions, all the social strata in the Romanian countries rallied around this solution. During the eight years of his rule, Mihai succeeded in achieving a historical compromise which under those conditions proved to be salutary not only for the destinies of Muntenia, but also for the subsequent development of its other sister countries, Transylvania and

Moldova. Even the much-maligned "oath" of Mihai must be restudied from this standpoint in our opinion, insofar as the documents of the time do not support any misunderstanding on the part of the peasantry, of this measure which the ruler was forced to take only much later, when the motive which gave rise to the historical compromise had disappeared.

The union of the Romanian countries under the scepter of the great sovereign was not the result of a set of circumstances, nor of the policy of conquest conducted by the two Ottoman and Austrian empires, nor the deed of a man wanting to carve an empire with his sword, as some self-styled historians abroad are insinuating; the union was the result of a centuries-long desire on the part of the Romanian countries, who wanted to be not only united, but also free and independent. Beyond the causes and circumstances of Mihai's time, this union was thus the result of a historical solidarity created among the sister countries during centuries, which also explains the fact that Mihai's attempt was not the only one in the Romanian Middle Ages, since the thought of reconstituting the old Dacia was on the minds of leaders both before, and especially after the union of 1600.

More than two centuries after all the forces of the Romanian people were coalesced by Mihai, another bright figure in our national history --Tudor Vladimirescu -- obtained anew the solidarity of all the classes in the Romanian society (the big boyars hiding in their houses beyond the mountains in fear of Tudor, being very few) during his revolution for national and social liberation, which explains the overwhelming importance of the revolution, and the new era which it opened in the history of our nation.

Indeed, if we analyze even briefly the crisis of the Turco-Phanariot... and feudal regime of the first decade of the past century, we can readily determine that all social categories were affected, and that all of them in one way or another were seeking a way out of the crisis. Producers and merchants were dissatisfied by the fact that duties, domestic taxes, and the export licenses sold by the rulers absorbed all their profits; and the dependent peasants were being subjected to larger feudal charges as a result of the monopolies of the boyars and monasteries, and of the fiscal extortions aggravated by an increase in the number of deputies and rich merchants, and therefore by a reduction in the number of those who paid. The land owners and freeholders in turn were unhappy with the restrictions which the rulers placed on the exportation of their various products, through exorbitant taxes. The militia, recruited primarily from among land owners, was compensated for its services with some exemptions of contributions, which were eventually cancelled by Prince Caragea. Their discontentment as a result of this injustice explains why Tudor's propaganda found them very receptive and made it possible to transform them into the cadre of the revolution. A profound discontentment also prevailed among merchants and tradesmen, since the regime of capitulations placed them under unfair competition with foreigners who were exempt from contributions and taxes. Even the large boyars became supporters of trade freedom, realizing that after the regulation of supplies by the Porte they could increase the income from their lands, some of them even wanting to establish factories and open mines.

But it remains unquestionable that the union of the various social categories of the Romanian countries in their struggle for emancipation from foreign dominations became possible only as a result of the formation of a national conscience. Prepared by the Transylvanian School -- an expression of the struggle of the Romanian people from Transylvania to be recognized as a nation -- the national conscience continued to grow, the ideas of the school being accepted in the other principalities and becoming weapons in the struggle for national union and independence.

Undoubtedly, one of the most significant periods in the destinies of the Romanian countries, settled by a broad historical compromise, has been the period which preceded the union of Moldova and Muntenia. The role and purpose of historical compromise becomes particularly clear when we analyze the ad-hoc meetings of 1857. It is known that at the time the ad-hoc meetings were being opened, and despite persecutions, the unionist movement had become extremely powerful. The entire nation was fighting openly for union, the enthusiasm of the masses being so great that the Austrian consul was even expressing his fear that a revolt would ensue. In Moldova, thousands of protests were being addressed to the authorities, who were placing various obstacles to the enrollment of citizens in voter lists. One Vaslui inhabitant addressed himself to the administration in these words: "I therefore protest against my not being entered in the list as inhabitant, I protest against the elections which would be conducted on the basis of published lists, I protest against the consequences of such elections, and I declare at the same time that I will not cease to protest..."⁷

It is known that ultimately only unionists were elected by the two assemblies. Although unionist, the social composition of the ad-hoc assemblies did not represent proportionally the various classes of the Romanian society of the time. Although both the Moldova and Muntenia Assemblies discussed domestic problems in one form or another, they did not focus on the one which we must remember, was of stringent urgency. The peasant deputies in the Muntenia and Moldova Assemblies did not shy away from openly stating the questions which were most important to them. The interventions of the peasant deputies Ion Roata in Moldova and Constantin Tanase in Muntenia are well known in this respect. But they did vote primarily for union and for the other national and general revendications, such as respect for autonomy, the union of the principalities into a single state named Romania, neutrality, and a People's Assembly which would represent all categories and strata in society, realizing that only this environment would provide any chances for reopening the agrarian problem.

The historical compromise achieved during the Ad-Hoc Assemblies' period came to full fruition in January 1859, when Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected sovereign in both principalities by the unanimous will of the people, thus completing the union of the sister countries and creating a suitable framework for undertaking the solution of serious domestic problems, including the problem of the peasantry.

The events in Bucharest on 22-24 January 1859, the unanimity with which the deputies elected Cuza, the great explosion of enthusiasm of the tens of thousand people assembled on and around the Mitropolie Hill when they heard the news, represent the historical reconciliation which was reached by all the social forces in the country, and which made it possible to take the first big step in constituting the Romanian national state.

Another period of exceptional importance to the destinies of our nation, and which led to the finalization of the national unification, was also marked by a historical compromise; it is Romania's entrance into World War I.

It is known that after Moldova and Muntenia were united in 1859-1862, and that after 1877-1878 when Romania won its absolute independence and consolidated the structure of its state by establishing modern institutions, it became increasingly necessary to complete the formation of the unified Romanian national state.

The conditions which contributed to the unleashing of this final process were those of World War I. When the war erupted, Romania had to establish its position without fail. The feelings of the entire population which wanted the completion of the nation, were expressed in all the actions conducted in the country during the years of neutrality. The evolution of the situation at the front, the defeats of the Austro-Hungarian army in Galicia and of the German army at the Marne, only served to more clearly open the possibility of liberating the Romanian territories which were under foreign domination. The propaganda for entering into the war alongside the Entente, which promised that in case of victory it would satisfy the centuries-long wish of the Romanian people -- the completion of a state unity -- acquired the most concrete form during the years of neutrality. The organization Actiunea Nationala [National Action] was created under the leadership of Take Ionescu and Nicolae Filipescu, and the former Liga Pentru Unitatea Culturala a Tuturor Romanilor [League for the Cultural Unity of All Romanians] under the leadership of N. Iorga was reorganized and renamed Liga Pentru Unitatea Politica a Tuturor Romanilor [League for the Political Unity of All Romanians]. The new committee of the league included the Transylvanian Vasile Lucaciu as chairman, as well as N. Filipescu, Take Ionescu, N. Iorga, Dr C. I. Istrati, Barbu Delavrancea, Simion Mindreanu, and Octavian Goga. Joining these organizations were the Federatia Unionista [Unionist Federation] of N. Filipescu in 1915, and Actiunea Patriotica [Patriotic Action] headed by Dr C. I. Istrati. It is surprising to today's researcher to see the powerful street action and the repercussions of these manifestations which involved the popular masses in the struggle for liberating their brothers in the occupied Romanian historical territories. The desire of the popular masses for the achievement of full state unification was so great, that we can understand why the Romanian people everywhere received with an undescribable enthusiasm the news that the Crown Council of 14-27 August 1916 declared at Cotroceni its decision to enter the war on the side of the Entente. At this Crown Council, even the old and stubborn Petre C. Carp, who had conducted a frenetic pro-German propaganda, decided to close down the newspaper in which he carried

out his campaign and send his three sons to the war. The council ended, and when the result was announced, an even greater enthusiasm engulfed all of Romania. Constantin Kiritescu, faithful chronicler of the times, observed: "The large crowds which waited in the streets for the result, received the good news with joy and cheers."⁸ Every Romanian was indeed convinced of the greatness of the moment, and received the message addressed to the people by the leaders of the country, as the most valuable encouragement to fight. The message stated: "After long years of unhappiness and difficult trials, our forebears have succeeded in establishing the Romanian state through the Union of Principalities, through the War for Independence, and through their untiring work for national rebirth. It is given to us today to complete their work, firming forever that which Mihai Viteazul achieved for only one instant: the union of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians. Today, it is up to us to free from under foreign domination, our brothers from beyond the mountains and from the plains of Bucovina, where Stefan cel Mare is resting in his everlasting sleep."⁹

Indeed, Romania's participation in the war alongside the Anglo-Franco-Russian coalition, raised to new peaks the struggle of the people's masses to achieve a unified national state. In the name of this holy ideal, our people made great and heavy human and material sacrifices during the war. Our country participated in that war without the same goals as the great imperialist powers. Our nation had no intention to conquer and annex, but wanted to fulfill its national unity, a unity for which it had struggled unstintingly for centuries.

With regard to our country's situation during the great and difficult trials which surrounded World War II, we remember how the RCP organized in various forms and with the participation of the broadest social strata and categories, the struggle to overturn the military-fascist regime, to establish a democratic government, to take the country out of the Hitlerist war, to liberate the Northwestern portion of Transylvania, and to join Romania to the coalition of anti-Hitlerist forces; and we also remember how the RCP militated to compose the unity of action of the working class as a focus for establishing the Frontul National Antihitlerist [National Anti-Hitlerist Front] of the Romanian people, with the participation of all parties, groups, and political circles with anti-Hitlerist orientation, which would adopt practical measures for applying in life the historically significant goals of those circumstances.

Our history has for some time widely recorded the circumstances in which the National Anti-Hitlerist Front, which included all the non-Fascist political forces in the country, was formed in the form of several political alliances: the Anti-Hitlerist Patriotic Front (Romanian Communist Party, Plowmen's Front, Union of Patriots, the Socialist-Peasant Party, Madosz, and for a while, the Social-Democrat Party) constituted in the autumn of 1943; the Unified Workers' Front (RCP and Social-Democrat Party) established at mid-April 1944; the National-Democratic Coalition (RCP, Social-Democrat Party, Plowmen's Front, Union of Patriots, Madosz, Socialist-Peasant Party, National-Democrat Party, and the Liberal Tatarascian Grouping) in May 1944; the National Democratic

Block (RCP, Social-Democrat Party, PNT, and PNL) formed in June 1944; and the Agreement with the Royal Palace, with which contacts were established as early as the summer of 1943. Also recorded in its full magnitude, was the particular importance given by the RCP to its association with many generals and higher officers, in order to draw the army to the side of the patriotic anti-Hitlerist forces.

The main orientation of these alliances -- a determining factor in the triumph of the insurrectionist forces of August 1944 -- was the formation of the Unified Workers' Front in April 1944, a point of overwhelming importance about which our historians have also written in detail recently.¹⁰

The political alliances created in 1943-1944 were the fruit of the insistence with which the communists had militated for their achievement; they were developed and successfully used in the interest of the uninterrupted revolutionary process in Romania following the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist national armed insurrection of August 1944,¹¹ a cardinal event in our national history, about which Nicolae Ceausescu has said that "it did not fall from the heavens, but resulted from the prologued struggle of the Romanian people, from the fact that the communist party, in alliance with the socialist party and with the other revolutionary and patriotic forces, was always at the forefront of the fight to defend the vital interests of the entire nation."¹²

It is natural that this summary of Romanian historical realities would also incorporate the truth that the alliances formed by the RCP during 1943-1944 did not fall from the heavens, but were the necessary and legal result of all the many efforts which had been made until then to create an opposition block of the left, composed of all the forces which were interested for one reason or another in the fight against reaction, fascism, and the potential enemies of the interests of the popular masses.

On these grounds, the examples of history arise in a diversity which at crucial points shows the achievement of a unity so much needed by the patriotic forces of the country, and on whose foundation these forces succeeded in their actions no matter how many sacrifices they had to make. It is true that at the times at which, more than ever before, the unity of all patriotic forces in Romania was absolutely necessary, during the years which preceded World War II, during the fourth decade of the century, the lack of unity of the working class and of all democratic forces, as well as the international circumstances, did not make it possible to prevent the installation of a military-fascist dictatorship in our country, and its subjugation to Hitlerist Germany. This was a difficult trial, which in various ways was also felt by other countries in the years which preceded World War II. But it has certainly been demonstrated that here as elsewhere, many events and facts had existed which proved with all their power the great possibilities for uniting patriotic and democratic forces on one and the same platform.

The recent partial parliamentary elections held in Mehedinti and Hunedoara counties marked a 40th anniversary of the memorable alliances achieved under the leadership of the RCP. This year also marks five decades since the electoral successes of the democratic forces at the village elections of 1926, and three decades since the victory of the Block of Democratic Parties in the parliamentary elections of November 1946. These provide as many occasions to evoke a number of bright pages in the history of the communist party and of the revolutionary and democratic movement in Romania. None of these successes were obtained by chance, but were the effect of valuable ground work performed by the democratic forces in our country during the previous years. We need only mention the participation of the Worker-Peasant Block, an organization of the masses created and guided by the RCP, at the village elections of February 1926 -- five decades ago -- as part of what has been called the united opposition, joining on a common platform other political forces of the time, including those with a bourgeois nature, such as the National Party, the Averescan Party, and so on.

Although the orientations of the communist party conformed to the major direction of historical progress, the Communist Internationale through one of its resolutions, took a critical position in the following words: "The (Communist, n.b.) Party acted very well when it welcomed the formation of the Block of Worker-Peasant Democracy, but it erred when it extended the tactic of the unified front to all the parties opposing the liberal government, losing sight of their purely bourgeois character (such as the National Party). The participation of the Block of Worker-Peasant Democracy in a joint coalition with the opposition bourgeois block (which also included the Averescan Party) during the last village elections was the most serious political error, deserving of the most severe condemnation."¹³

Avoiding such judgements and indications, sure of the propriety of its tactical orientation, the RCP has also subsequently tried similar contacts with the other political forces of the time, expressing its opinion in a number of documents in those days, that such collaborations were the only way for possible success in the struggle against the governmentals and other reactionary political groupings. Thus, one of the articles published from a clear sighted position treated the problem in these words: "There is no doubt that the proper line at this time for the conscientious workers is to seek the largest improvement in the political activity of the great masses of workers, peasants, and minorities, and to guide them so that they may strike a blow together and in parallel with the bourgeois parties in the oligarchy, in order to fulfill the immediate demands of the masses."¹⁴ It can be seen that in fighting against the oligarchy, the RCP considered it useful and possible to conduct the struggle together and in parallel with the bourgeois parties. This was a point of view which had wide circulation in the communist party, and which has remained constant between its theoretical and practical concerns.

What happened four decades ago -- in the turmoil of preparing and conducting the elections of Mehedinți and Hunedoara on 18 February 1936 -- is simply a testimonial to the proper political thought and practical action of the communist party, intended to lead -- in a tense electoral confrontation -- to a victory for the tactics of the Anti-Fascist Popular Front in Romania.

The partial parliamentary elections of February 1936 in Hunedoara and Mehedinți counties, provoked a confrontation of the principal social forces in the arena of Romania's political life at that time. They proved the effectiveness of the united struggle of democratic forces, which acted jointly, and which despite all persecutions, lies, and electoral fraud, gained victory in the elections.

It was a time in which the communists in our country confronted the regime of surveillance and repression exercised by the bourgeois reactionaries, overcame the difficulties and weaknesses which occurred in their own ranks -- particularly under the difficult conditions of deep illegality -- and eluded the directives of the Communist Internationale which attempted to limit and even prevent the collaboration of the RCP with other parties and political groups; it was a time in which the communists in our country became increasingly more open to the need of forming the Anti-Fascist Popular Front, understood in the essence of its purpose as a broad coalition of all anti-fascist forces, a time in which the unforgettable communist worker Ilie Pintilie, in the front ranks of the party, wrote from these clear positions in a newspaper of the time: "I am convinced that the gathering of all workers in a unified front of struggle against fascism, against the state of siege, censure, illegalities, and despotism, would be the first step toward a Popular Front for oppressed strata." He was seriously accusing all those who "instead of seeking that which can unite us, are always talking about that which separates us."

The Popular Front, he stated, "need not be a new party, but a temporary of longer lasting alliance of democratic, anti-fascist parties and organizations, independently of their programs, tactics, and means of struggle. The Popular Front must be a place for the enemies of the enemies of the people."

It was a time in which, based on his daily experiences, the same Ilie Pintilie pointed out: "Let us then not seek that which separates us, but that which brings us closer. At the present time our common points are more important than our differences."

Communists, social-democrats, national-peasantry, peasant-radicals, or whatever the name of the organization, are equally threatened, as is threatened the people as a whole.

At the present time we have only one enemy: fascism. It is the closest to us. It is against it that we must unite.

This is how things are. If anyone sees them in a different light, and if he is sincere, he proves that he has understood nothing."¹⁵

In this environment of ideological search and concrete-historical struggle, the results of the 18 February 1936 elections were received with satisfaction by the masses and by all the democratic political opinion in our country. Referring to these results, the bourgeois newspaper ADEVARUL of 23 February 1936, wrote: "Hunedoara and Mehedinti are the material, sensible, and decisive affirmation of a reversal in the public opinion, opposed to the system of brutalization and feudalization of the country in the fascist-Hitlerist sphere. We have recorded the most beautiful victory of Romanian democracy in recent times."

The victory obtained by the democratic forces in the partial parliamentary elections of Hunedoara and Mehedinti counties, has demonstrated that at that time our country had large resources for uniting all the democratic forces, and of composing an anti-fascist popular front.

The success earned in these elections by the democratic forces rallied in a joint anti-fascist front has enriched the fighting experience of the communist party, has increased its influence among the masses, and has led to a solidarity between the party and large democratic circles.

This entire experience, the new, extensive connections which it created during this period with various groups and politicians, were extremely useful to the party in the years which followed, in the struggle against the Antonescu dictatorship during World War II, in its efforts to establish the Unified Workers' Front, and in uniting all the patriotic popular forces for the defense of national independence and sovereignty, and for organizing the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist armed national insurrection of August 1944, which opened a new era in the history of our country.

The conditions created by the victory of the insurrection imposed the activity conducted by workers' political and professional forces, in order to first of all achieve the unity of the working class manifested in its professional reconciliation in 1945 -- through the creation of the General Confederation of Labor -- and then in its true reconciliation in February 1948 at the Congress for the Unification of the RCP and the Social-Democrat Party, which created the single party of the working class, a Romanian experience which was extremely valuable to the international workers' movement.

In conclusion to all the above, we can state that some of the most important events in the history of the nation and of our workers' movement -- among which we point particularly to the union of 1859, the completion of the formation of the Romanian unified national state in 1918, and the victory of the people's forces on 23 August 1944 -- were achieved through historical compromise, through the reconciliation of all the forces in the nation in order to overcome the acute crises which each time threatened the very existence of our national being.

In recalling these events in the history of the nation and of the workers' movement in our country, we better understand the militant nature of the current policy of our party and of Nicolae Ceausescu to achieve a large coalition of the progressive forces throughout the world, and in particular to firm an unshakable alliance among the political forces of the international working class, in order to overcome the crisis which today characterizes the capitalist society, and to create a climate of peace, collaboration, understanding, and mutual respect, by fighting against various theories and "doctrines" regarding the division of the world into spheres of influence, "organic" integration, and so on.

The experience of Romania and of the RCP with the question of historical reconciliation is added to the thesaurus of the Marxist experience regarding social development and historical progress under the conditions generated by the contemporary human society.

The RCP highly values the fighting traditions of the Romanian people, honors the events which have brightened the pages of our national history, and in this frame of reference also recalls and suitably honors the remarkable experience gained in struggling to establish broad sociopolitical alliances.

The recall of these bright events in the history of our party and nation mobilizes us today even more actively in the task of fulfilling the animating goals established by the 11th Congress of the RCP in order to build a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance our country toward communism.

At the same time, the evocation of these bright pages in the past of the joint struggle of the masses in Romania for their democratic rights and freedoms and against fascism, can provide a mobilizing example to those who today and tomorrow, at different points on the globe, will have to solve, in the interests of their revolutionary and national liberation movements, problems similar to those which confronted the Romanian communists in the years between the two world wars. The establishment of a judicious revolutionary tactic and strategy, and the expenditure of sustained efforts for achieving a broad coalition of sociopolitical, democratic, and progressive forces, can lead anywhere in the world to victories which the people need so much. This is in fact the major direction of the times in which we live, the spirit of our contemporary history.

The teachings of history, eloquent in their essence, urge us and must urge everyone else to thought and decisive action in their spirit. This is what Nicolae Ceausescu suggested in the following exemplary words, spoken before the Congress of People's Councils: "Fully appreciating the increasingly important role which communist and workers' parties play in the renewing transformation of society, as well as in international life in the struggle for a new policy of peace and collaboration, our party has firmly decided to strengthen its collaboration and solidarity with all these parties. At the

same time we will intensify our relations with socialist and social democrat parties, with movements for national liberation, with national government parties in developing nations, and with other revolutionary, progressive, and democratic parties and organizations, for a stronger unity in the fight for social progress and peace, for the building of a better and more just world.

From the rostrum of this congress, I want to reaffirm the decision of our party, of socialist Romania, to act unswervingly and in continuation to solve the major problems of international political life, and to contribute to the struggle for establishing new relationships in the world, relationships which will assure for all nations the possibility of progress and peaceful collaboration, and of advancement of all humanity along the road of civilization, detente, and peace."¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, Edit. Politica, Bucharest, 1975, p 211.
2. Ibid., p 212.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Before the Congress of County People's Councils and Chairmen of Municipal, City, and Village People's Councils," SCINTEIA, No 10406, 5 February 1976.
4. Gheorghe Prodea, "The RCP and the Current Need for Historical Reconciliation Between Communists and Socialists," ANALE DE ISTORIE, No 4/1975, pp 42-52, refers extensively to this question.
5. The 14th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1975, p 60.
6. SCINTEIA, 18 May 1976.
7. Documents Regarding the Union of Principalities, Vol I, Domestic Documents (1854-1857), Edit. Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1961, Doc No 116.
8. Const. Kiritescu, History of the War for Completing Romania, 1916-1919, Vol I, Bucharest, Editura Casei Scoalelor f.a., p 182.
9. Const. Kiritescu, op. cit., p 183.
10. In this respect first see Gh. Tutui, A. Petric, The Unified Workers' Front in Romania, Bucharest, Ed. Politica, 1971; A. Petric, Gh. Tutui, The Unification of the Worker Movement in Romania, Bucharest, Edit. Romanian Academy, 1968.

11. In this respect see details in: Romania During the Democrat-Popular Revolution (1944-1947), Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1971.
12. Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania on the Road to Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, Vol 10, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1974, p 183.
13. LUPTA DE CLASA, No 1, June 1926.
14. CULTURA PROLETARA, No 1, 15 January 1927.
15. FRONTUL MUNCII, Vol I, No 6, 7 October 1935.
16. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Before the Congress of County People's Councils and Chairmen of Municipal, City, and Village People's Councils," SCINTEIA, No 10406, 5 February 1976.

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CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

LJUBICIC DISCUSSES SFRY DEFENSE POLICY

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0608 GMT 15 Dec 76 LD

[Interview with Army General Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of national defense: "Our community has the most prepared armed forces;" by the papers NARODNA ARMIJA and FRONT on 8 December in Belgrade.]

[Text] The creative work by Comrade Tito in the domain of military science most important. Tito's military strategy is an integral part of his revolutionary humanistic thought and practice. In implementing the LCY program, the ranks of our armed forces gave life to the complete equality between all our nations and nationalities. In the present international situation aggression can be averted only with the unity, strength and resolve of the entire social community. Today we have at our disposal top quality military equipment. Our nations and nationalities can be free only in the united socialist and self-management Yugoslavia. The communists are fully responsible for our moral-political unity. We must ceaselessly build up the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and our armed forces. Social security and protection are a component part of the defense might of our society.

Army General Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of national defense, granted the request by Narodna Armija Publishing Institution and on Wednesday 8 December received its director, Col Vladimir Hlaic; Col Milan Kavacic, chief and responsible editor of the illustrated magazine FRONT; and Lt Col Ivo Tominac, chief and responsible editor of NARODNA ARMIJA, and, on the eve of the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army, answered questions. He spoke of the role of Comrade Tito in the formation of our armed forces, of their development, of what was achieved so far in their modernization, of the all-people's defense concept and of its further development, of security and of social self-protection, of the role of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army in the further moral-political improvement of the army and of the consolidation of our defense strength generally.

[Question] This year we observe the 35th anniversary of the JNA. We enter the 40th anniversary of the time since Tito began to lead the communist and

workers' movement of Yugoslavia. Would you please talk about the most important moments in Tito's revolutionary creative work with particular reference to what the marshal was doing in his capacity as the supreme commander, the builder of our armed forces and of their strategy and tactics during the war and in the post-war period.

[Answer] Tito's creative work in the domain of military science, theory and practice as a whole is of enormous importance not only for our country, but much further afield, too. However, without a doubt his work is of the greatest importance for Yugoslavia and for Yugoslav nations and nationalities. At the most crucial period of our history, Tito led the communists and members of the Federation of Yugoslav Communist Youth [SKOJ] into armed action and gave them the task of leading the masses of the people into an uprising against a powerful and well-organized fascist army that at that time occupied virtually the whole of Europe, with the exception of the USSR, and was already advancing over the territory of the Soviet Union.

So, at that time, Comrade Tito started the armed rising, courageously led the armed struggle in the most difficult conditions and formed the units that were gradually to turn into brigades, divisions and army corps and successfully conducted the struggle up to the liberation of the country. By their struggle both the communists and SKOJ members made the young people and the patriots join the rising and in the context of that armed struggle created the armed might of our country. It is common knowledge today that the national liberation army waxed stronger during all the war years. It follows, then, that Comrade Tito accurately assessed the conditions and the opportunities for the uprising and dialectically perceived the conditions and the possibilities regarding the conduct of the war.

Talking about the complex nature of war as a whole, it must be said that they are all complex and difficult. In wars entire nations face great trials because the nation has to be organized so that it can conduct an armed struggle and in human society this is a most difficult thing to do. If we go on assessing our war, we can say that it was a most complex one. What happened was that every other country entered the war complete and this implies both the state of the army and the entire social organization. Tito entered the war without all this. In these most difficult conditions he had to form the armed forces, he had to establish a new, people's authority, and he had to establish the organization of state and political life. It is clear that only a personality such as Tito was able to see in advance how he would be able to, and how he would have to use these forces and yet be able, at the same time, to develop a new tactic and strategy for the armed struggle in keeping with the conditions and in conformity with the size of the armed forces that he had at his disposal in the various periods of the national liberation war.

It was only in this way that he was able to make a purposeful use of our armed forces. And he always managed to do that. He never overestimated the possibilities inherent in the forces that he had at his disposal, he never either underestimated or overestimated the possibilities of the enemy

against whom he was fighting, he always knew the right thing to do and he managed, given the size of the armed force that he had at his disposal, to specify both its political and its strategic objectives.

This being the case, one can also gauge Tito's military contribution in World War II from the point of view of the formation of new views on the conduct of the war. In World War II Tito was the first person in our country to formulate and give life to the idea that struggle and war can be conducted by relying exclusively on one's own forces. In this lies the basis and the essence of our all-people's defense war concept.

You see, for a number of years we waged struggle without any outside assistance. We were not even acknowledged. In these conditions, by relying on the people and on what we were able to take away from the occupiers, Tito very successfully organized his armed forces and gave them the tasks according to the conditions prevailing, but he always did so in keeping with the ultimate objective of the war. Tito guided our armed struggle so that we conducted the operations and the fighting according to the conditions and the requirements--for instance, when the wounded or a territory had to be protected--or according to some other objective. In so doing he relied all the time on the broadest mass of the people and on all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia so that the rising and the national liberation war could ceaselessly develop and spread. The result was that in the whole of the country the armed struggle flared up precisely by relying on our own strength, which means by relying on the resources that our peoples had at their disposal. This struggle was successful and was brought to a successful conclusion.

When one is assessing today the importance of all this, one can easily come to the conclusion that Tito is one of the greatest military commanders, and not of World War II alone. Why do I say this? First, because Comrade Tito opened up the path of the development of the revolution in the context of a national liberation war, because he is the ideological creator of political and military strategy on the basis of which we won independence, freedom and equality with all other nations and states, and because he is a historically important personality who combines revolutionary creative endeavor with the function of a military commander and statesman. Comrade Tito conceived the organization, the gradual growth, the objectives and the domestic relations, the tactics and the operative skill of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia [NOVJ], and laid down the laws and the main points of action in the national liberation war. And, he did so in keeping with the political objectives and social requirements of the revolution.

Tito's military strategy is an integral part of his revolutionary, progressive class-proletarian and humanistic thought and practice. This is why we can speak of him as one of the greatest military commanders. He also made an enormous contribution to military science in World War II, he successfully led the armed struggle on the battlefields of Yugoslavia and created our armed forces. However, at the same time he changed the

fragmented, destroyed and oppressed country into a new Yugoslavia, a community of equal nations and nationalities, and in so doing he filled them with confidence in their own strength and gave honor and pride back to them.

However, the historic significance of Tito's achievement is that as a result of our struggle and of our creative endeavor in our country he opened up a new future to our community, and at the same time opened up prospects for all other nations still under occupation and encouraged them, by relying on their own forces, to fight and by fighting to create their new state and social system and integrity. Since the war there have been many such liberation struggles to whose leaders the overall achievement of Comrade Tito was an example and a moral encouragement.

[Question] During the 35 years of the development of the JNA you, Comrade General, held all command posts, starting with the commander of the Uzice Youth Company up to the post of the federal secretary of national defense. It is understandable that in this period you acquired considerable experience. Please give us the basic characteristics of the development of our army since its first steps and your impressions of this development.

[Answer] Thirty-five years since 1948 when Comrade Tito began to set up the regular units of our armed forces to wage struggle for the liberation of our country are about to be completed. Now when we are observing 35 years of our armed forces, we can more fully assess their development as a whole and its most significant form. I spent my entire working life in them, since their inception up to this day. What can one say?

It is true that the formation of the armed forces during the war was a very difficult task, but at the same time the most valued thing is that our nations and nationalities were able to do this at a crucial time when they had to become organized as well as they could for the armed struggle against the occupier. It is clear that our nations and nationalities were able to achieve victory in the revolution and attain liberation only on the condition that they set up new armed forces, their own, people's armed forces, the armed forces that will protect their interests and that will always lead them into struggle for liberation. I think that precisely this was a great deed of Comrade Tito's in the sense that he not only created our armed forces in exceptionally difficult war-time conditions, but also that he formed our people's armed forces, that he linked the interest of the peoples with the interests of our armed forces so much so that they became identical, and that our armed forces became the vehicle whereby our people and our working people fulfilled their interests. They kept this quality up to the present day by being always in the service of the nation, both in the struggle for freedom and against pressure and all forms of threats, or when an elemental or some other natural calamity occurs. Our armed forces are an integral part of our nation. They are always ready to help the people and, in my view, they successfully fulfill their duties.

Our Armed Forces are Revolutionary, and on the Positions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Another merit of our armed forces is that they are revolutionary and that they are on the positions of our party, the League of Communists. They maintain strong links with the most progressive sections of our society. This means that they maintain close links with our working class and its interests. It was precisely because of this that through them the working class was able to attain its objectives. In this, too, Comrade Tito's contribution is a great one because he never ceased to point out that, in implementing the line of the League of Communists, our armed forces must always lead in the implementation of progress and that with their political activity within the context of the totality of their activity they must fulfill themselves as an armed detachment of the working class and as a conscious detachment of all our nations and nationalities.

The third characteristic of our armed forces is that, by consistently implementing the LCY program within their ranks, they gave life to complete equality between all our nations and nationalities, that in struggle they forged their brotherhood and unity and that they constantly watch over this brotherhood and unity today. All members of our armed forces are absolutely equal and have equal rights, they feel that they are all assessed on equal terms, and work and the results of their work are the only criterion of their value. In so doing our armed forces are making a truly great contribution to the development of our socialist thought because they help the formation of the awareness of our citizens because, having done their military service, they go to work organizations, factories, villages and towns. Comrade Tito constantly insists on these values. In this respect, too, I see the great contribution he is making.

I think that another important characteristic of our armed forces is to be stressed. The entire life and work in them is based on equitable relations among the people, and these are the relations for which the LCY is fighting; in its stands and programs the League always stresses that people are the greatest value of our society and that their dignity must be respected and valued. In our attempt to implement these stands by Comrade Tito and by the LCY, we are guided by the idea that in our military organization there should be conscious discipline and that those conditions should be established that suit the development of human values--creative effort and initiative--that is, the conditions in which every individual can fulfill his qualities, and that this is in the interests of the community and in keeping with the relations that should prevail in the army and in the armed forces in general. Our armed forces must be well organized and the highest order and discipline must obtain so that at any moment they can protect the interests of our working people and citizens and that they could at any time preserve the freedom, independence, integrity and independent development of our self-management socialist community.

[Question] The all-people's defense concept and the strategy of armed struggle and of other forms of resistance based upon it have their genesis in the National Liberation War [NOR] and carry its revolutionary continuity.

Please tell us of the current requirement of the concept with regard to its enrichment by the knowledge introduced by the present time--contemporary military thought and new military technology in general--and by the self-management socialist and the general economic and urban development of Yugoslavia in particular.

[Answer] In implementing the all-people's defense concept during these 35 years of the development of our army and of our armed forces in general, we managed to create the kind of armed force of which our nations and nationalities can be proud. Today, we are so equipped and militarily so organized as never before in the history of our country. Our units are commanded by the officer cadre that received top training, which is militarily very capable and which is boundlessly devoted to its self-management socialist country and to our socialist community. With their units our officers are always ready and able to rebuff any armed aggression, pressure or threat directed against our country. For these reasons I think that today, when celebrating the 35th anniversary of the formation of our army, we can be fully satisfied with the overall results we have achieved. Thanks to the unity of our society, brought about by the LCY, and to the application of the all-people's defense concept, we managed to act in a preventive way, so much so that at this moment there is no threat to our country from armed aggression because any armed aggression on our country would suffer complete failure.

Therefore, in organizing our all-people's defense into a system, we managed to carry out fully the tasks set by Comrade Tito, and the all-people's defense concept today also acts in turning the aggressor away from making a hasty move. In the present international situation, aggression can be prevented only with unity, force and resolve by the entire social community and by the highest defense capability of all our society.

[Question] What significance do you attach in this respect to the newspapers in the development of military thought and military equipment?

[Answer] This is very important. Today, when we are raising our all-people's defense concept to a higher level, we must work out the theory and the strategy of all-people's defense concept thoroughly and completely so as to be able in practice ceaselessly to implement our concept in keeping with current conditions. This presupposes ideological involvement of all social factors to the extent to which we rely on them in the defense of our country and ask them to become involved. This means that as many people as possible should take part in this exceptionally important activity and that their contribution in this area must be in keeping with the requirements.

We Must Ceaselessly Study Modern Wars and Ways of Conducting Them

However, in updating our all-people's defense concept, one must proceed today from the purpose it serves and from the reason why it is required

by our nations and nationalities. It is required that in the eventuality of an armed aggression against our society, we should be able to build the defense and the protection of all our nations and nationalities upon it and to break the aggressor and preserve our freedom and independence. Accordingly, the constant monitoring of the development of military scientific thought in the world and of the military-technical potential of all the armies that could appear on our borders as aggressors is of exceptional importance. We must introduce into our military thinking all the novel features that are the result of the development of social relations and of military science and technology even more boldly than before. This means that we must ceaselessly study modern wars and ways of conducting them. From this study we must draw the conclusion as to the way we shall conduct our defense war so as to resist the aggressor best and in the most successful way. It is quite understandable that on our territory and in our conditions of waging war we must have supremacy, and we will achieve this precisely by applying our doctrine on the conduct of the all-people's defense war.

Whenever we go back into the history of our national liberation war, we become aware of the greatness of Comrade Tito as a military commander. At every stage of the war he discovered the best way of using our armed forces. He managed to do that by his understanding of the balance of forces and by never permitting our forces to be surprised. Also, by correctly maneuvering units, he always established the conditions in which in some way they were militarily superior, always morally and numerically too, with the result that they could be more successful in a given moment and in a specific place. I think that these experiences from our national liberation struggle are exceptionally important. It is, therefore, advisable to make use of them both in training our officers and in assessing the use of our armed forces in current conditions. We must study this today and we must think about it.

It is also very important that we should constantly monitor the development of science and technology and the weapons held by all the armies and that we should take note of the new things introduced into the combat systems and of the new weapons used in modern wars. Of course, we must ceaselessly discover our own and the most suitable solutions to enable us to resist a possible aggressor. A discovery about armaments can be so significant that in many respects it can have a bearing on the conduct of armed struggle by the very fact that, to give an example, it can inflict enormous casualties. And, as is known, the conduct of the war is always based on new modern technical equipment provided for the armies. This means that we must ceaselessly enrich our concept for all-people's defense by new knowledge in general, both military-theoretical and scientific-technical knowledge. These are two important areas which we must watch carefully so that we always have the ability to carry out successfully the tasks set us by our society.

We can freely say that in preparing our all-people defense system we successfully incorporated our concept into our society as a whole, and this means into our armed forces as well. We worked out the tactics and

the strategy of our armed forces and the strategy of armed struggle and have adapted them to precisely the thing I was saying when speaking of the conduct of war under modern conditions.

However, as far as our technical modernization is concerned, I can say that we have at our disposal today top quality military equipment. We must go on at the same pace and must not rest satisfied with what we achieved in the development of military scientific thought or in the development of technical equipment. There is no end to this task. A great deal is being said now about new weapons, especially about rocket equipment. This is very effective military equipment. And tomorrow, more up-to-date tanks, aircraft, antiarmored equipment, air defense equipment and others will emerge. A new type of equipment, of which we know nothing at all today, could appear. From this stems the commitment to monitor the development of science and technology in the world with extreme care, that we should provide modern military equipment for our armed forces and that we should ceaselessly train ourselves successfully to handle top military equipment in the spirit of the all-people's defense concept.

The Most Important Task: To Arm Oneself With Consciousness

[Question] Of course, technology will make constant advances and it will be increasingly difficult to follow up novel developments. How shall we keep pace with armaments?

[Answer] We have always stressed that people are our strongest all-people's defense weapon. This is why it is a good thing to quicken the pace so that every man in the defense structure of our country can be "armed" with more consciousness. This can only be attained with united efforts of all the factors, both in the army and outside it. Our efforts will be channeled into the development of all-round ideopolitical work with the people, in the barracks, in the factories and in local communities. As is known, with the development of the over-all system of all-people's defense we managed to obtain a preventive effect and to remove the danger from an immediate threat of armed aggression. Thanks to our total strength and combat readiness, and also to the reputation that our country has in the world, there is no immediate threat from armed aggression, at least for the time being. However, it cannot be said that aggression in general is given up. On the contrary, war against our country, the special war, is conducted with much vigor. Moreover, it was intensified recently. In this war many resources are brought to bear so that they could have an effect on the consciousness of the people, their homogeneity and the unity of the people.

If we carefully examine the ways and methods used by the various anti-socialist and anti-self-management forces in the attempt to work against us, we see that this is an attempt aimed primarily at destroying our brotherhood and unity, which constitutes the strongest connecting fabric of our multinational community. They try to corrode it, above all by sowing

and fanning national hatred, they concoct stories about the inequality of nations, they try to foment intolerance, and so forth, and all this they do in order to break up, or at least undermine, the fraternal community of the equal nations and nationalities of the SFRY.

This is precisely why it is necessary ceaselessly to increase our people's awareness. They must be aware quite clearly that our nations and nationalities can only be free in a strong and united socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, and the greatest contribution to the strengthening of our country is if we all unanimously and consistently follow the attitudes adopted at the 10th LCY Congress, if we consistently follow Tito's thought and work. After all, our nations and nationalities were taught numerous history lessons, and not only in the past. They are still relevant today. Some of our compatriots who remained outside our borders, as we can all see, are exposed to denationalization and oppression.

Officers: Communists by Conviction

Because of all this, I think the struggle against these attacks on our brotherhood and unity must be uncompromising, energetic and ceaseless. And we must wage it with every means. This does not mean that we should not also equally resolutely struggle against the other harmful ideopolitical influences and all other deviations from the line of the 10th LCY Congress. In the future, as hitherto, we will adhere to Tito's course, resolutely struggle on all ideological fronts against all our enemies, constantly bearing in mind the unity of the armed forces. Comrade Tito frequently warned us that we must guard vigilantly the cohesion of the army's ranks. We shall achieve this if we continue to think unanimously, if we have the same orientation on all ideological and political questions and if we insure unity in all our actions.

[Question] By the logic of things, communists have a special obligation in this respect. Can you, as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the League of Communists Conference in the Yugoslav People's Army, say a few words about the cohesive role of the LCY?

[Answer] When we speak about the ideopolitical unity of the armed forces, about the unity of the country's defense forces, we are speaking not only about the tasks of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, but also those of the LCY itself, because the stronger a society, the stronger its defense power. For instance, the cohesion of the war units [ratne jedinice] is a task both of their own League of Communists committees and of the League of Communists committees in the territory in which they are developing. The organizations of the League of Communists in operational units also have major tasks. The communists who live and work in regiments and divisions bear the full responsibility for their moral-political unity. For this reason, all the activities of the communists in companies and battalions aimed at ceaselessly increasing the strength of their own units are highly significant in realizing the cohesion [monolitizam] of the armed forces.

This is so because if we all together, everyone on his part of the ideological front, are successful in barring hostile influences, whether from without or within, the battle for unity will be won. It goes without saying that the units' commanders and officers are equally responsible for the unity of the armed forces. After all, they too are largely communist: 98 percent of all the officers and 86 percent of all the noncommissioned officers are members of the LCY. We have never before in the army's history had so many members of the party, so high a percentage of the total number of officers. We are consistently implementing the words addressed to us by our supreme commander when a delegation of the armed forces visited him last year--that is, that all officers should be communists by conviction and that the battle for the purity of the moral and political image must be won in the military schools and academies. This is also evident from the following data: In recent years one out of two young men who enter our ground forces' academy has been a member of the LCY, while all leave the academy as card-carrying members of the party.

[Question] The 10th Congress set new tasks, but it also paid a great tribute to the results achieved in strengthening defense, especially in building the armed forces.... [TANJUG's ellipsis]

[Answer] The 10th LCY Congress was a historic gathering. By its total contribution, it was also highly significant for the further strengthening of our defense as a whole. The assessment made at it about the implementation of the concept of all-people's defense was really a high one. It was a tribute to all who worked for this. However, it also imposes an obligation on us. I think that since the 10th Congress we achieved valuable fresh results and that now both our society and its defenses are stronger than ever.

With reference to the communists in the army, I can say that they are successfully carrying out the tasks set them by the congress. However, these successes must not give rise to complacency. We must always be self-critical and critical about ourselves and our own work. We must be full of creative restlessness, we must never be content with what we have achieved. It is particularly important to declare war on mediocrity. After all, even the initial discussions at election meetings in the League of Communists organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army show that communists are very keen to lead the military collectives to even greater efforts. They are able to do so too, because the prestige of the LC organization is great....[TANJUG's ellipsis]

[Question] The number of the members of the League of Communists, as has been noted at election meetings, is also growing daily....[TANJUG's ellipsis]

[Answer] If admissions to the League of Communists continue at the present rate (in the first half of this year the number of the members of the LCY in the army went up by about 12,000), there will be 20,000 new communists

in the army's ranks at the time of the 22 December Jubilee. The army now has six times as many communists as the whole country had in 1941. This is a great force. However, it goes without saying that numbers are not everything. It is important that party cards should be in the right hands. Investigations showed that the young men admitted to the League of Communists in the army are also very active politically when they go back home. This, to a certain extent, is a proof of the correctness of our policy of admission to the League of Communists. However, not everything is above reproach. It is good, for instance, that more than half of the newly-admitted are workers, but we must not neglect farmers either. Comrade Tito also drew our attention to this. I do not think we can be content with the number of young men from the countryside who are admitted to the League of Communists.

[Question] Comrade General, you said with reference to the assessments by the 10th LCY Congress that we have achieved valuable results in the post-congress period and that now our society and its defenses are stronger than ever before. What are the basic tasks now in the direction of the further strengthening of our defense as a whole, regardless of whether we mean the Yugoslav people's army, the armed forces or the social community as a whole, proceeding from the concept of all people's defense?

[Answer] We may be content with all that we have achieved in strengthening our defense. However, this also makes us duty-bound to go still further and still more resolutely and rapidly. I think that today it is very important to create the concept of our defense that should be implemented in the coming years. We must prepare our armed forces and society to be able to defend ourselves in new conditions or, to put it better, in conditions that change constantly. And within their framework there could also be changes in the balance of power.

From this it naturally proceeds that we must ceaselessly build and modernize the Yugoslav people's army and our armed forces in general. By this I mean primarily their cadre development, because the technical modernization is in my view proceeding very successfully and in the armed forces today we have modern and effective means of combat, many of which we produce at home. We must acquire full mastery of these means of combat, we must be well able to apply them in the battlefield. This means that we must still more accelerate the training of our cadres, that we must make them able and keep making them able to use all these technical combat means skilfully and successfully in the defense of our revolution's achievements. I think that this is one of the central tasks in the years ahead.

We Shall Ceaselessly Keep Creating the Possibilities for Successful Warfare

The second question to which we shall devote much attention is the incorporation of the concept of all-people's defense into our society. That is, we must continue ceaselessly to prepare all the social institutions for the successful waging of an all-people's army. In the stage before us we shall also complete the organizational work on these tasks, which means that we shall prepare all the citizens for waging an armed struggle and make them capable of producing, even in the most difficult war conditions, for the front, for the armed struggle.

It proceeds from this that we shall ceaselessly create and develop all the possibilities for successful warfare--that is, we shall achieve elasticity in the development of people and in the conduct of the armed struggle itself. I think we are also faced in this field with the task of scientifically explaining all these questions, all the forms of our deployment, because there is hardly a country in which people will take part in the war in such large numbers as would be the case in our country and in those countries that apply some of the forms of all-people's war.

I think our citizens, our working man, can have two and even three war postings and that, in a particular variant of the war, may be deployed wherever it is most important to do so at a given moment. This is only one of these questions, but by solving it we are making more successful warfare possible. We are now considering how to continue to develop our concept of all people's defense war in preparation for the next stage of our society's development.

[Question] The strengthening of vigilance, security and self-protection is also directly linked with the further development of our concept of all-people's defense. What have we achieved in this field of our social activity and what further should be done to strengthen our community's defense power?

[Answer] I want to stress, first of all, that we have achieved good results in self-protection. However, in social security and self-protection we must continue to make the utmost efforts to protect our community from any threat. It is well known that all those who are unable to endanger our country with armed and other similar action are now trying to endanger us in other ways and by other means. It is also well known that different tactics and strategies are found today to achieve aims that were at one time achieved by armed struggle. This means that in the final analysis the aims remain the same, but that the tactics and strategy of aggressive activity are changing. These are not short-term actions, because the aim is to undermine our social system and destroy the defense capabilities of countries without resorting to the use of armed power.

It is clear, of course, that if a potential aggressor fails to achieve his aims by means of this so-called special war, he will also use armed power.

Because of all this we must strengthen our vigilance, security and self-protection. In this respect we must organize ourselves as well as we have organized ourselves militarily for the prevention of armed aggression against our community. This means that we must raise our social security and self-protection to the highest level and so prevent any attempt at aggression against our country. Today aggressions are carried out on a very broad front and with long-term aims, in all fields of work and activity ranging from political to scientific, and are directed particularly against the ideological cohesion of society. This activity is directed from one center and is planned the same as any other operation, which is to say that there exist the headquarters, the means and everything else that is necessary and that is needed to make it possible to attain these aims.

[Question] Comrade General, can it be said that social security and self-protection are an integral part of the system of all-people's defense?

[Answer] I think that the conclusion that imposes itself is that the system of all-people's defense and the system of social security and self-protection constitute an entity, a whole, whose aim is to protect our community against all kinds of aggression. All the countries threatened by aggressors in the ways to which I have referred must, in order to safeguard their national integrity, organize themselves in such a way as to be able to resist aggression successfully whatever form it takes. We have broadly developed the system of social security and self-protection. I think social security and self-protection are as important to all social institutions and all of society's factors--from the local communities and work organizations upwards--as all-people's defense. Consequently, we shall develop a system of social security and self-protection with the aid of which we shall prevent every activity aimed at destroying or weakening our society, its political and social unity and its strength in general. At the same time we must never forget that behind the peace-time threat to a society there always exists a powerful armed force which can be used at any moment.

This means that the defense of national integrity and national security must be so organized that the system of defense and the system of social self-protection are interlinked and merge with each other to form a unified whole. This means that the system of self-protection should also be very efficient today, in peace-time, and that it must also be capable of waging an armed struggle in a war that might be imposed on us.

This way of organizing defense and social security and self-protection is of a great importance both for the armed forces' units and for all of society's structures.

I want to stress that we achieved very good results in the armed forces and in our society and in the building of the system of social security and self-protection. However, this is not and must not be our final goal and we shall continue to strengthen our security and self-protection because in this way, in parallel with strengthening of our defense, we shall insure our society's security. A significant presupposition for the successful resistance to special war is the reliance on the working people and citizens, on the whole of our population. The same as the armed struggle is the basic form of resistance to the invader and his armed aggression, our social self-protection represents the most important form of and the main force for opposing the unarmed forms of aggression and discouraging the aggressor from committing aggression. We must never rest content with what we have achieved in this respect and, as in the case of preparing our society's armed forces for defense, we shall constantly seek fresh solutions and so maintain constant progress. If both of these systems are strong enough, we shall at any moment be ready to protect and defend everything that we have achieved over the past 25 years, everything that our people has achieved, under the leadership of the League of Communists and Comrade Tito, during the uprising and the revolution and later on in the country's post-war development.

YUGOSLAVIA

PROBLEMS, MEDIOCRITY AT ZAGREB UNIVERSITY AIRED

Zagreb VUS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 76 pp 14-15

[Regular column Reagiranja [Reactions] with guest commentary by Slobodan Jugo, MD: "Not a Conflict Between Generations, But a Struggle Against Mediocrity"]

[Text] "An Open Letter to a Certain Zagreb University Professor" (VUS, 2 October 1976) and "An Open Reply From a University Professor" (VUS, 16 October 1976) have generated a great deal of interest and response; the article which follows represents one such response and is offered as a contribution to the debate on academic and educational problems in our country.

"An Open Letter to a Certain Zagreb University Professor" by Dr N. Kujundzic and published in the 2 October 1976 issue of VUS and the professor's reply carried in the 16 October 1976 issue of the VUS are a typical example of the kind of conflict that exists between the members of two generations of Zagreb scholars. In terms of their past academic record both men, each in his own way, are far above the Yugoslav average. Dr N. Kujundzic earned his doctorate before he was 30 years old, which ought not to be anything at all unusual, but considering the way things are in this country this is still a real achievement. On the other hand, considering the richness of his scholarly output, Dr S. Asperger occupies a position at the very summit of the Yugoslav academic world. The "duel" which these two men fought on the pages of VUS can have only one result, namely, the degradation of our academic community and the distraction of the public's attention from the real problems faced by our academic system. Thus, Dr Kujundzic condemns a university professor for publishing too many works in order to insure his election to the Academy and accuses him of careerism. The reader inevitably comes to the conclusion that our scholars are writing too much, usually out of narcissistic-careerist motives, and at the same time spending a great deal of the public's money that could otherwise be put to better uses. The truth of the matter, however, is entirely different.

According to statistical information* there are approximately 15,000 persons in the SFRY with academic titles. Out of this impressive total, as many as 45 percent have never published a single scholarly paper in a domestic journal, 70 percent have never had anything published in a foreign journal, while of those who have had something published every third one has not published anything in the last 5 years. I think that in view of these lamentable statistics it is not difficult to get the impression that Dr Kujundzic's attack on the publications activity of Dr Asperger is indeed ridiculous. Colleague Kujundzic, why did you not chastise those 7,000 persons who are being paid for their scholarly work and yet have never written a single scholarly paper instead of criticizing (rather inappropriately) someone who has published more than 60 papers in foreign journals? Just so there will be no misunderstanding--I am not applauding either of these polemicists, nor do I even know them personally. I am of a different profession (a medical doctor), and by virtue of my age (28 years) I belong to the young generation. The only thing that bothers me is the fact that in terms of the number of papers published by Yugoslav scholars in respected international journals (slightly more than 400 annually) as well as in terms of the number of declared Yugoslav patents we are at the very bottom of the world best-seller list and that no one is concerned or engaging in polemics in the daily press of this.

Consequently, colleague Kujundzic, I would like to try to make up for your oversight in this regard, insofar as it was your intention to write your open letter in order to do something on behalf of our academic community and the position of young scholars in our society.

I believe that the reasons for the clearly low productivity of our academic community lie in the absence of any precise criteria for evaluating scholarly works and in the hierarchial-monopolistic structures of our university departments and institutes. The world has already developed a system for evaluating individual scholarly work, and this system can be reduced to two basic criteria. The first criterion is the number of original scholarly works published in respected international journals. The value of this work is determined solely in terms of the quality of the contribution that it makes to world scholarly thought, and a list of these works is published in a special publication. The second criterion describes how many works by an individual author are quoted by other scholars in their own works. This method is not without its faults, but for the lack of a better one we could live with it as long as there are no objections from those who are publishing nothing at all or very little (unfortunately, this includes the majority of our "scholars"). The first attempts to introduce this kind of method in our country (at the Institute for Medical Research and Industrial Medicine in Zagreb) proved to be successful, and now it is up to our other institutes and universities to develop their own variants of a method for the precise quantitative evaluation of individual scholarly work.

The rigid hierarchial organization of our academic departments and the monopoly hold of individuals on university titles and positions are products of the

*Jozo Previsic, "Znanstveni kadar u SR Hrvatskoj" [Academic Personnel in the Socialist Republic of Croatia], Zagreb, 1975

absence of a practical reappointment system. That is, in accordance with the Law on Higher Educational Instruction (as well as in accordance with the draft of a new law which is just now the subject of an open public debate), the position of university docent or professor cannot be filled by anyone who is not formally employed by the faculty [university school] in question, even if no provision has been made to create a formal staff position for such a post, regardless of whether or not a candidate meets (or surpasses) all other prescribed conditions. In other words, there are as many docents and professors as there are staff positions. Consequently, whenever re-appointment time comes along there is only one candidate (the incumbent) competing for the same position, which for all practical purposes means that there really is no re-appointment process, since the faculty statutes, according to law, have cleverly prevented the emergence of any competition in the form allowing more candidates than there are available positions. For the young scholar there is only one alternative, i.e., either wait until a position is vacated by natural biological processes and in the meantime keep on good terms with one's superior (the terms usually involve subjecting oneself to sheer extortion) or look for a place under the sun outside the university.

This kind of arrangement has closed the doors of university departments to a certain segment of the available highly qualified personnel, created a cult of the department "head," and made it possible for mediocrity (a characteristic displayed by those who can most easily bear the long years of waiting) to gain a foothold in the top ranks of some departments. In this way the mediocre ones have taken advantage of the opportunity they have been given (an opportunity that also often comes their way due to the forced retirement of prominent scholars) to surround and protect themselves with ineffective and unambitious individuals and, naturally, to thwart every attempt to bring about a change in this situation. The result of all this has been shown in the statistics cited above and in the gradual decline in the prestige of individual departments as well as of our academic community as a whole.

And so the question inevitably arises--what should be done to change this situation? The solution still does not lie in the imposition of new and stricter criteria for all appointments and re-appointments to university positions. Many of our professors from the older generation have contributed a great deal to the development of our academic community, even though they have not been publishing as much as they should have. It is proper that they should be recognized for the fact that they had to contend with considerable difficulties in their pioneering work, and this should be appreciated by all means. Nor is a solution to be found in bringing down the mandatory retirement age limits, since the forced retirement of some professors often leaves behind catastrophic gaps in some departments, and neither is it a good thing to reject the services of 70-year olds who are still capable of making a contribution, if no longer as the heads of departments, then at least in the process of training the younger generations.

I believe that we have to do the following. Abolish the professional re-appointment process for full professors. Make it possible for prominent scholars to remain active in university departments even after they reach 70 years of age. Introduce strict criteria for making appointments to new or additional positions, doing so by means of a precise quantitative evaluation of scholarly activities. Introduce the concept of open appointments to titular university positions for all those who meet the required conditions. Encourage healthy competition for appointments and re-appointments to regular university positions.

Even though some of these suggestions sound a little paradoxical, they still represent, in my opinion, one way of making it possible to open up our departments and key academic positions to highly qualified personnel without creating the dangerous gaps that might otherwise result from the long years of neglect for the task of producing a new generation of highly qualified scholars.

In addition, the RIZ (the Republic Community of Interest for Academic Affairs) should be called upon to set up an objective, multi-nationality board for the review of academic projects which are in need of financial backing for research work and to make it possible for every scholar to compete, on the basis of equal rights and the precise quantitative evaluation of his past academic work, for the allocation of grant funds without having to cultivate contacts and relationships with department heads and institutions in order to receive official support. That is to say, up to now such funds have been allocated according to the principle of "who has the key to whose doors" and by titles and positions, rather than according to the scholarly value of projects and the potential usefulness of research programs. This has also contributed substantially to the low productivity of our academic community.

In contrast to colleague Kujundzic who wrote his "open letter" hoping that he would not receive a reply, I would be disappointed if my letter were to be passed off without comment. Because only a constructive, public debate and the clarification of views on the burning issues affecting our academic community can lead to the kind of action that will create the conditions which would allow us to finally move up from the bottom of the heap of contributors to world scholarship and to transfer our academic environment from a place where at present people race after positions, titles, privileges, and foreign currency stipends into a place where people fight for the truth and the solution of the problems of this world.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CURRENT PROBLEMS, NEEDS OF ELDERLY REQUIRE NEW PROGRAMS

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 22 Oct 76 p 3

[Text] According to statistical data, in the last 10 years our population has become considerably older. The number of elderly in 1971 was 12.2 percent, while currently it is 12.6 percent.

Although the aging process of the population has been present during the entire postwar period, the social consequences of this process became particularly apparent in the past decade. In that period significant changes occurred in the family as well, thus there was a transformation of the traditional family structure and patriarchal relations, so that self-supporting elderly households became increasingly numerous. This process is manifested differently according to regions and settlements, yet it is most strongly evident in larger urban environments and rural areas. Save for individual cases of elderly persons who were socially unprovided for, in the past decade society was not set up to solve considerably broader and more complex problems created by the rapid aging process of the population and the dissolution of the traditional family.

Under new socioeconomic conditions it was necessary that the situation be changed. Thus the resolution of the 10th Congress of the LCY and the resolution of the Federal Assembly were passed, concerning social welfare calls for the transformation of partial care for the elderly into a broader social action which would ensure an equal position in society for all elderly, with a consideration for their specific needs. The point of departure for the above is the view that the right of the elderly to special social protection stems from their past activity, from various contributions and efforts toward the upbringing and education of younger generations, and this right is enjoyed by all citizens over a specified age.

The material basis for the development of social welfare for the elderly is provided by the working people in associated labor since by self-managing decision-making they set aside resources necessary for the realization of social welfare for the elderly.

Burdened by Living Expenses

Above all it is necessary that social security and economic stability be extended to the elderly along with personal respect. They need not only nursing and high quality sustenance but an organized cultural-entertainment life and recreation. And this is what the majority of elderly people lack. Thus, for example, in Serbia, only 116,000 out of 530,000 people age 65 and over receive pensions, 8,000 enjoy permanent welfare, while about 60 percent, mainly farmers, have no regular monetary income. All of this shows that over half of the elderly disposes of very modest monetary income insufficient for meeting living expenses.

In the case of a certain number of elderly, because of more serious illness there are special expenses for care and services extended by other persons. These expenses are exceptionally high and exceed the regular monetary capacities of a high percentage of the elderly. If in addition to this one considers the fact that about 20 percent of them live in shabby and neglected housing, that 25 percent is no longer in a position to prepare food for themselves, and that food expenses constitute the highest item in their budget, then it becomes clear that the care of the elderly must be approached from a broader and a more organized perspective.

The Irreplaceable Help of the Work Organization

In recent years, thanks precisely to this broader aspect of care for the elderly, much has been accomplished. By means of actions through local communities and the Trade Union, directed toward increased concern of work organizations for the material and social positions of their pensioners, all socio-political organizations, particularly the Socialist Alliance, have been successful in improving considerably the living conditions of the elderly. Thus, for example, there was an increase in the concern for more favorable conditions of elderly workers and ever more favorable conditions for their retirement. A large number of Basic Organizations of Associated Labor [BOALs] provide housing for each worker before retirement, ensure regress [adequate funds] for vacation, and facilitates the use of installations for recreation and public restaurants. However, such behavior on the part of BOALs has not at the same time become a rule. Consequently, the primary role of the Trade Union, by means of social agreements, is to render all organizations responsible for the welfare of their retired workers, since the concern of BOALs for their elderly workers itself represents a unique function which cannot be replaced by the activity of other agents for protecting the elderly.

A special place in the welfare system belongs to schools, since the young can perform minor services to help the elderly, while the contact with them provides an opportunity for the elderly to remain longer within the social

community so as not to feel neglected and forgotten. Further, there is also the organization of the Red Cross, which is among the pioneers in the care of the elderly, since by organizing constant contributive actions it creates a significant material basis to compensate the elderly for insufficient income, and likewise prepares thousands of its members for home care and the help of ill and elderly people.

Nonetheless, in the system of social welfare for the elderly a significant position is occupied by the local community. The latter is most suitable for the provision of all forms of help and for gaining direct insight into the needs of the elderly. It [the local community] is in charge of opening clubs and homes for the elderly, organizing their cultural-entertainment life, providing regular sustenance through public restaurants, including the organization of meal distribution, caring for their health conditions and organizing help and services. However, it is precisely here that much remains to be accomplished. Thus, in Serbia alone services provided by specialized institutions such as homes for the retired and other elderly people can be used only by 0.4 percent [of eligible persons], while minimal needs vary from 1 to 2 percent of the total number of elderly over 65 years of age. Moreover, these institutions are very unevenly distributed, so that they are not available to entire regions. Accommodations and the standard of services are not satisfactory in a number of them, while for the elderly in villages solutions are almost nonexistent.

Difficulties in Realizing Even Basic Rights

As far as medical care of the elderly is concerned, the situation was substantially improved when legal provisions were effected to recognize the right of the elderly persons 65 years of age and over to complete medical care. However, problems associated with the implementation of these rights arise most frequently with regard to elderly persons in rural areas as a result of the distance of medical institutions and lack of organization of public health services. In the case of these people there is also a need for home care and assistance in performing basic household duties, for which organized services do not exist. Consequently, in Slovenia, for example, they have tried to find a solution for such cases by organizing neighborhood help and by engaging activists in the Red Cross.

The most appropriate and most acceptable solution for the comfortable and peaceful old age under our conditions is, by all means, the family and help provided by children and the closest relatives. This is also the most humane way to resolve the position of the elderly, but at the same time it occurs with decreasing frequency. Since the elderly are left alone more and more, the help of the broader social community becomes necessary. For this reason, in recent years solutions to the satisfaction of the needs of the elderly are being sought through the establishment of new relations

within retirement security and social welfare. This involves rights to compensation or participation in expenses for home care, the use of household services, the use of services in institutions for day care, and expenses for living in retirement homes and geriatric stations.

As for the elderly in villages, the attempt is to find solutions through retirement security for the agricultural population, the first attempt toward which has been experienced by the people in Vojvodina. Further, solutions are also being sought through self-managing agreements and social contracts concerning the criteria and conditions for enjoying particular types of social assistance and for directing resources toward the development of precisely these modern forms and types of social welfare for the elderly.

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YUGOSLAVIA

POPIT SPEECH ON IDEOLOGICAL-SOCIAL CONTENT OF NATURAL SCIENCES

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 26 Nov 76 p 8

[Speech by France Popit]

[Text] France Popit, president of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee greeted in the name of LCS the participants of the Portoroz conference on sociophilosophical views of the natural, medical and technological sciences. In his remarks he said:

This meeting provides the opportunity and possibility to draw attention to those findings of Marxist thought and creative practice of our self-managing development which must of necessity be considered when we define the place, role and importance of science in the constant transformation and development of our society.

Scientists Moral Concern Demands Social Involvement

One of these findings is that science and its discoveries applied in the social, political and technological production practice must not act merely as an economic production force but also as a revolutionary political force. Merely as an economic production force science can be anybody's obedient tool.

Can we then speak of the scientist's freedom if he has absolutely no say in determining to what purposes his discoveries will be applied--whether for destruction or enrichment of man. His moral concern demands his social involvement. The advent of Marxist social science caused a break with the bourgeois ideal of science as a disinterested truth hovering aloof and immaculate above the passions and interests of the class society. Science is a social activity and scientists are not beings concerned exclusively with thinking, but rather real people living in definite political relationships of the society in which they live. This realization is not limited only to sociology but holds for all sciences. In his closing words to the second edition of Das Kapital in 1873 Marx was able to conclude that even the bourgeois political economy could no longer overlook the demands of the

proletariat and that therefore any political economy that still pursues its scholarly aspirations endeavors to bring its science in accord with these demands. Today, too, in the capitalist countries part of the progressive intelligentsia in the natural sciences and technology is realizing with ever increasing clarity that its science must be brought in accord with the needs and demands of the time by directing it toward the socialist transformation of society and that the natural and technological sciences, too, must ideologically and in a revolutionary way contribute toward the abolition of class society.

The social substance of contemporary science, its unsuspected positive as well as destructive possibilities, its use and its effect can be put into practice, prevent and control only on the basis of social interest and not those of class or private monopolies. The perspectives for an awareness of the power of contemporary science lies only in its alliance with socialism. The intelligentsia in natural sciences and technology realizes more clearly from day to day that the substance of science and its traditional humanistic goals are incompatible with the essence of capitalism and the class society in general. Therefore, the most aware part of the intelligentsia in natural sciences and technology deliberately exposes the conflict between science and capitalism. In combatting capitalism, the progressive technological intelligentsia publishes various journals and books, organizes into groups, and so on. This activity of scientists is of great importance for the development of both science and society because it shows the intelligentsia in natural sciences and technology that its work in the service of a system based on excessive production and a tendency to control people in the long run and in its final form is directed against the interests of mankind and through this also against science and the scientists themselves.

The intelligentsia in the natural sciences and technology is forced to broaden its traditionally narrow professional ethical responsibility both on the theoretical as well as on the practical level. The natural sciences and technology are encountering global and sensitive social problems of the kind that can be resolved only with an organized and deliberate effort of the entire society and in no other way. The intelligentsia in natural sciences and technology is discovering that, under conditions where the material results of scientific work of the past are becoming private or state property, science reinforces the power of the ruling strata and classes no matter how much the scientists themselves may be attached to the ethical and humanist ideals. And thus scientists are more and more realizing that is essential to unmask theoretically and abolish in practice the connection between science and both private property and state capitalist or socialist bureaucratic monopolies. Each natural and technological science has the opportunity to contribute to the smashing of this liaison. Frequently, part of the natural science and technology intelligentsia must itself suffer the negative consequences of this liaison. A progressive ideological orientation of science is imperative for the world of today. It is an integral part of the struggle for

peace and equality of political and economic relations in human society, an integral part of the struggle for spreading and establishing socialist ideas throughout the world. Ideological neutrality of science in the contemporary period of mankind's evolution can mean nothing but neutrality and indifference toward the most progressive political and humanist goals of the working class. Such ideological neutrality renders essentially : ideological support--passive or active--to reactionary social forces and their ideologies. Ideological neutrality in our self-managing socialist society means indifference toward the cultural, political, and economic goals and objectives of our society. With such ideological neutrality the conservative forces endeavor to divert the intelligentsia in the natural and technological sciences from their attachment to socialism and to make them their ally in potential political conflicts so that they could, by using its scientific authority, bolster the religious or other forms of the idealistic ideological and conservative political conviction. This is why the ideological, philosophical, and social awareness of the present and future generations of intelligentsia in the natural sciences and technology is so important. We must not only apply this discovery in the regular educational program at the university but also at all other levels. A great deal of attention must be devoted to this question by both the Marxist centers at the university as well as the professional societies in their professional education programs.

It Is Necessary To Eradicate the Myth on the Ideological Neutrality of Natural Technological, and Medical Sciences

The scientific technological creativity in the self-managed socialist society must in arriving at its results be cognizant of the more global goals and criteria if it is to enrich the ethical and cultural substance of citizens' lives. If the scientific and technological creativity remains one-sided, partial in its interest, and directed to short-term results, and it certainly was such very often, it will sooner or later prove to be inadequate and contrary to the interests of the broader community of citizens. Scientists must confront the problems of associated labor, define them in scientific terms, and find a solution so that they will be amenable to solution within the practice of our socialist self-managing development. Associated labor must orchestrate all the interests and aspects of our society's development. If science is to become an integral part of associated labor defined in this way it cannot remain ideologically neutral.

It is necessary to transcend and eradicate the myth of the ideological impartiality of the natural, technological, and medical sciences. This is both a matter of ideological substance of the knowledge itself as well as the broad social outlook of the scientists. Each branch of specialized knowledge is not equally important from the standpoint of ideological theory, but its importance increases in proportion to the growth of the theoretical level of a given science, to the increased interdisciplinary relevance and integration of specialized knowledge into all the broader

systems and to the growth of the practical and social applicability of a given knowledge.

Ideological and social elements of science are present already in the selection of the research topic, the research process, its results and its practical application. Before a scientist becomes what he is today he has lived immersed in society for at least 20 years, embraced or rejected its values and went through the process of socialization in society, the school, and in broader social context. He is approaching the subject of his research as a specific ethic and, in brief, as a product of history and society. A pure, direct, and "objective" contact of the scientist with the reality outside of our theoretical and empirical experience, language, interests, and values is accordingly impossible. Science is an activity of the society. The ideological value judgment element is incorporated into the foundations of every human activity. The natural sciences and technology are not and cannot be an exception. The bourgeois positivist value ideal and ideologically impartial science are not only politically but also from the general humanistic viewpoint a conservative one, it is a form of man's alienation and an elevation of this alienation into a norm of accepted conduct. An ideologically progressive scale of values in science neither excludes nor neglects scientific objectivity, but, on the contrary, contributes to its broadening and refinement.

According to the positivistic formula, only impartial truth is supposed to exist. Marxism, on the other hand, teaches that partiality is not contrary to truth and objectivity. After all every human truth is in some way a partial truth. There is no disinterested truth nor can such truth be created. The ideological value orientation of science is not prescribed once and for all with criteria laid down a priori but is continually being enriched with new social problems and dilemmas appearing before science. The philosophical orientation to ideological values of natural and technological sciences cannot be injected only from without: it becomes effective only if it is nurtured by an ideologically and philosophically aware, socially progressive, and professionally recognized part of intelligentsia in natural sciences and technology.

The massive attendance at this meeting is evidence of great interest in questions you will be dealing with which are also in the center of attention for the League of Communists. As you know, the League of Communists has recently taken up the in-depth study of Marxist classics which is an inescapable duty of every working class party desiring to advance its interests on the basis of the Marxist scientific thought. This duty has been neglected for years but now we are endeavoring to make up for the lost time by accelerated work of Marxist centers and other scientific research, and educational forms and methods of work. I think that we are justified in expecting from you, the participants at this conference, that you will apply your knowledge and your endeavors toward advancement of this goal in your working environments.

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